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AUTHOR	Harman, Willis W.
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ABSTRACT

Three forces are pushing man toward a drastic shift in cultural values and basic premises. These are: 1) the existence of a world macroproblem which requires such a shift for its solution; 2) the "great refusal" of youth to go along with the values of the past; and 3) the questioning within science as to whether its classical "value-free" stance was either appropriate or, in the long run, wholesome. Should all these forces prevail, the consequence would require a radical reassessment of all aspects of national policy, but particularly in the areas of research funding policy and educational policy. The world macroproblem is the composite of all the problems which have come with technology application and industrial development. The problem is exacerbated by the reductionistic, deterministic premises of the predominating behavioral-science and sociopolitical theory found in the universities which train the society's leaders. Such premises are in conflict with the basic premises of a democracy: that man is, by virtue of his transcendental nature, endowed with reason, will, and a valid sense of value. Should new transcendental values become paramount, the resulting shift in society would be equal to the Protestant Reformation. (JK)

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CONTEXT FOR EDUCATION IN THE SEVENTIES

Willis W. Harman, Director, Educational Policy Research Center, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif.

In the course of the research conducted for the U.S. Office of Education by this Center on alternative futures and their relation to educational policy making, an interpretation of contemporary events has evolved which, if it is substantiated by further investigation, has the most profound implications for education in the seventies. (1)

In brief, what emerged from the analyses are three forces pushing toward a drastic shift in cultural values and basic premises. These are, (A) the existence of a world macroproblem which requires such a shift for its solution, (B) the "great refusal" of youth to go along with the values of the past, and (C) the questioning within science as to whether its classical "value-free" stance was either appropriate or, in the long run, wholesome. Should these forces prevail, the consequence would require a radical reassessment of all aspects of national policy, but particularly in the areas of research funding policy and educational policy.

These arguments are summarized below, as a context for thinking about educational policy issues in the seventies.

I. THE WORLD MACROPROBLEM

There is in our day one world macroproblem which outweighs and, indeed, subsumes all other major social problems. This is the composite of all the problems which have come with uncontrolled technology application and industrial development.

Accelerating development and application of technology have already brought us to the threshold of overpopulation (through technology-reduced mortality rate); pollution of air, water, and soil; extensive unemployment of the unskilled; paralyzing air and surface traffic congestion around urban centers; and the threat of nuclear holocaust. These have been the consequences of the unspoken policy that whatever technology would make a profit for an individual or an organization, or would contribute to a nation's ability to carry on warfare, that technology would be developed and applied. But now this policy has brought us to what Archibald MacLeish has called "the Great American Frustration"—the feeling that we "have somehow lost control of the management of our human affairs, of the direction of our lives, of what our ancestors would have called our destiny." (2)

For it has become clear that we have now, or could develop soon, the power:

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Through "human engineering", to modify indefinitely the bodies of selected individuals, for reasons ranging from scientific curiosity to prolonging life

Through genetic engineering, to modify the characteristics of the human race and to shape the course of evolution

To change to unlimited extent the physical characteristics, and the plant and animal population, of the biosphere

To alter to unlimited extent men's mental and emotional characteristics, including intellectual abilities, motivations, affect, personalities, and character

Through weapons of mass destruction, to annihilate large segments of the human race and devastate large areas of the earth

To change significantly, in many other ways, the kind of world which is handed on to the next generation

Past experience gives us little assurance that the predominantly economic values and *laissez-faire* policies which have thus far governed industrialization and technological development will suffice to insure that such potent powers will be used for the overall benefit of humanity. Our past practice has been to allow arms races, or pollution, or environmental degradation, or ecological imbalance, or denuding of the land to proceed until the situation was obviously becoming intolerable, and then attempt some sort of corrective action. This may not be good enough in the future.

Wheeler (3) argues that some sort of control of the flow of scientific and technological innovation is as necessary now as economic controls of capital flow have been in the past. Furthermore, this control must be transnational, involving at a minimum all the highly developed nations.

It seems clear that this "sorcerer's apprentice" problem calls for more than simply different policies. Some new institutional form, in addition, will be necessary. But even more may be required. In the end the issue is not one of technology but one of values. The question is not one of devising managerial technology to control technology, but rather the more fundamental question of whether the operative values which served so well in the development of modern technology are basically capable of handling its humane application.

Pecci (4) is one of the first to use the term "macroproblem". The term is appropriate for several reasons. The various aspects of this problem are spawned by the same parent, rampant technology and industrialization. The problem is world-wide in scope, although the effects in the underdeveloped parts of the world are different from those in the highly industrialized regions. The problem is already extremely serious and will inevitably become more so in spite of any corrective actions which might be initiated now.

The world macroproblem can be conveniently viewed as the composite of six separate problem areas and their complex interconnections:

1. *Population and food supply.*—Problems arise from population concentrations and the consequent likelihood of famine and plague. The "green revolution" in agriculture is often put forth as a potential

solution to these problems. But the "green revolution" may be only a delaying action. Furthermore, it contributes to contamination of water with agrichemicals, adds pollutants to the air through sprays and use of fossil fuels, and poses new problems of transportation and distribution, and of displaced persons. Human and organizational breakdowns associated with population concentrations are likely to add to the more direct difficulties.

2. *Changes in the biosphere.*—Among problem alterations in the biosphere are ecological imbalances; pollution of air, water, and soil; contamination with radioactive waste; general fouling of the environment; resource depletion; changes in temperature and composition of the atmosphere.

3. *Poverty and the developmental gap.*—The gap between industrialized and underdeveloped nations seems ineluctably destined to worsen in spite of deliberate programs aimed at closing it. This comes about as a consequence of two powerful factors, the self-regeneration acceleration of technological and industrial development in the prosperous nations, and the staggering problems in the overbreeding and underdeveloped societies. In the context of presently prevailing outlooks and values it does not appear politically feasible for the governments of the prosperous nations to contribute anything like the economic aid which would be required to bring the poor nations to the "takeoff point". The existence of this growing disparity in quality of life poses a constant threat to world stability. Within the nation, a similar disparity threatens national order.

4. *Biological and psychological alterations.*—This is the problem of uncontrolled powers to "engineer" the human body, mind, foetus, and genetic transmission; to affect emotional states and personality, intelligence and character, motivation, and goals.

5. *Weapons and sabotage.*—Weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, biological) are or will be available to even small nations, making war an anachronism the planet can no longer afford. Weapons of sabotage are more effective as the complexity of modern information, transportation, power, industrial, and social systems increases their vulnerability to incapacitation.

6. *Threats to mental health, civil rights.*—Modern technology increasingly empowers the state to control individual privacy and freedom. Anxiety and threats to mental health result from congestion, continuing international and domestic tensions, fear and hostility in urban areas, greater complexity of existence, rapidity of change, reduced contact with nature, reduced interpersonal communion. Economic problems of technological unemployment and continuing poverty take their toll in mental disturbance. Fear leads to police-state treatment of minority groups who appear threatening or subversive to a nervous populace.

We have reached a point in history when new outlooks and values may be essential—certainly new institutions are. We can no longer avoid active responsibility for the future of the planet, of the biosphere, and of the evolution of the human race. If the developed world does

not, as a unity, take on this responsibility within the next few years, it may be too late to avoid disaster.

No research task is more urgent than to find out where we are with regard to this macroproblem. If the time is short, we had better find out how short. If we do not know which aspect will become intolerably serious first, and when, we need to find that out. If we will need new supranational institutions for world-wide control, we had better design them and find out how to get them accepted. If we need, beyond that, a vast educational shift toward active stewardship of the future, and toward altered values compatible with a livable future world, we had better undertake that. If we do not do these things, it may not matter much what else we do.

II. PATHOGENIC PREMISES AND NATIONAL WILL

There is good reason to believe that this world macroproblem, when viewed as a single multiply-interconnected problem, is *essentially unsolvable* within the context of the operative values of the modern industrial state, uncontrolled technology development and application, and nationalistic mentality—that is to say, within the framework of presently prevailing values and basic cultural assumptions. Certain basic premises which have been associated with the rise of modern science in its present form, and with modern technology, industrialism, and nationalism, have become *pathogenic* with present population rates and technological levels. (5)

Some candidate premises with pathogenic aspects are:

The reductionist view of man, which is a premise (not a consequence) associated with the development of contemporary science, and which lends sanction to dehumanizing ways of thinking about and treating men.

The premise that men are essentially separate, so that little intrinsic responsibility is felt for the effects of present actions on others or on future generations.

The premise that man is separate from nature, and hence that nature is to be exploited and "controlled" rather than cooperated with.

The "economic man" image, leading to an economics based on ever-increasing GNP, consumption, and expenditure of irreplacable resources.

The premise that the future of the planet can be left to autonomous nation-states, operating essentially independently.

The disbelief that "what ought to be" is a meaningful concept and is achievable.

The reason that these premises are pathogenic now, whereas they were apparently fairly workable in the recent past, lies in the way in which the future is profoundly different from the past. From now on, *everything* in man's environment, in his physical makeup and behavior, and in his future development, is subject to human meddling, interference, and "control". But we have not developed the responsibility for making the momentous choices which face us, and will not develop such responsibility until there is an adequate metaphysic to support it.

At the national level the most serious problem we face is the loss of a unified national will, since that is the essential motive power for making progress on the other problems. This failure of will is manifested in whole groups of the society "bailing out," feeling alienated, or blaming other groups for their troubles—youth, blacks, peace demonstrators, rightists, public servants, "silent majority," vocal minorities. A key component in this dissidence is loss of a sense of purpose.

Historical observation of man's behavior shows clearly that those values which have motivated him to his highest achievements have always been those which transcend his physical nature, which imply a spiritual order behind the phenomenal order. In an age in which cynical "realism" has become a powerful force, we have somehow found it hardheaded and realistic to believe that man is motivated by the symbolic desire to make a profit, but unrealistic to believe that masses of men might be inspired by the lofty goals incorporated into the symbols of the United States of America. The historical record shows that those symbols, and the meaning behind them, have given hope to millions upon millions of people throughout the world. No other nation has ever dedicated itself to the bringing of a new order into the world, in which all men—not just its own citizens or a fraction of them—would find opportunity and freedom and human dignity. To be sure, we have on the whole done rather poorly in actualizing that goal. But that fact does not belie the unifying power of the symbols and the goals.

However, these symbols have in the recent past lacked that power, partly because the underlying metaphysic became disbelieved. The loss of a sense of national purpose, and the rising dissent and civil disorder, thus are also linked to the "pathogenic premises" which have undermined the meaning of the national goals and symbols.

III. A CONFLICT IN PREMISES

A conflict exists between the basic premises of a democracy—that man is, by virtue of his transcendental nature, endowed with reason, will, and a valid sense of value—and the reductionistic, deterministic, physicalistic premises of the predominating behavioral-science and sociopolitical theory found in the universities which train the society's leaders. Sociology has shifted from its earlier emphasis on the semi-philosophical "humanities" approach to an emphasis on techniques and empirical studies, with the implication that man is a creature of his drives, habits, and social roles, and in whose behavior reason and choice play no decisive part. In psychology courses this point of view is likely to be made even more explicit, with consciousness considered to be an inconsequential accompaniment to behavior governed by external stimuli and instinctive urges. Contemporary political science tends to focus on the processes by which public policies are made, and to be relatively little concerned with their contents. Amid the measurement of attitudes, population movements, organizational trends, and political behavior, and the modeling of society and governments, little

attention is given to the historic questions relating to man, his condition, and his destiny.

On the other hand, the concept of a transcendental, choosing, ultimately responsible self is essential to the entire theory of democratic government. It underlies the assumption that the criminal is responsible for his act (while recognizing in providing rehabilitation opportunities that his antisocial traits may have ther roots in environmental conditioning). It is basic to the assumption in the judical process that the judge can meaningfully make a normative judgment. It is essential to the workability of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

This conflict in basic premises is directly related to the future of the planet. Arguing from essentially the same standpoint as the "world macroproblem" discussion above, Victor Ferkiss (6) asserts that nothing short of a new guiding philosophy is required to meet the challenge of the years just ahead. He outlines three basic elements which such a new philosophy would have to incorporate. First is what he terms a "new naturalism," which affirms that man is absolutely a part of a nature, a universe, that is always in process of becoming. The second element, "the new holism," recognizes that "no part can be defined or understood save in relation to the whole." The third, "the new immanetism," sees that the whole is "determined not from outside but from within." It follows from these that meaningful social policies must be ecological in character, that is, they must be based on a recognition that any decision, any change affects everything in the total system. Men's actions and the forces they set in motion are all part of the developing whole; "every part of the whole has power and influence; every living particle is a source of direction and life." If man is to acquire the necessary sense of responsibility for the impact of his own actions on the shaping of the whole, he "must so internalize these ideas and make them so much a part of his instinctive world view that they inform his personal, political, and cultural life."

As we shall see below, two other forces in society appear to be urging us toward similar premises and values, toward a new image of man. One is an aspect of the dissent of youth; the other, a development within the realm of science.

The kind of educational system and educational goals a society sets up, the way it handles the problem of poverty, the priorities it gives to aesthetic considerations, the extent to which it considers its citizens' need for easy access to communion with the nature, the uses of leisure it fosters—all these aspects and many more are effected by the image of men held by the society. Currently in our society these potent emerging forces push for a change in that image, in the direction of transcendent man. Thus far the power is on the side of reductionists.

IV. THE GREAT REFUSAL

One of these two forces, a component of the youth revolution, is what Mendel (7) terms "the Great Refusal" to go along with the old values, a protest "against that pitiful caricature of man created by five cen-

turies of urban, technological, and scientific progress—*homo economicus*. The essential accusation of the Great Refusal is directed against the subordination of human experience to the economic processes of the consumer society and its increasingly more absurd products, to the aggressive militarism that at least in our case has become so tightly interwoven with this society, and to the gigantic, impersonal organizations through which it all functions."

Nor is it only among the youth that we find such sentiments. Increasingly, business executives are heard to include, sincerely to some extent at least, high in the list of corporate objectives of providing opportunity for the fulfillment of members of the organization, and of contributing in some fashion to the welfare of mankind.

It is, of course, an oversimplification to the point of risking distortion to lump all the dissent together as the "Great Refusal." The situation is a good deal more complicated than that. Let us comment on one aspect of the dissidence of youth which is particularly relevant to our discussion here. At least four distinct movements can be discerned which, by around 1968, had coalesced to form one rather powerful thrust. As a consequence of these four tributaries, the present movement has a unique character stemming from its use of what might be termed "person-changing technology."

The first of these converging streams is the new political activism starting with the civil-rights movement which enlisted idealistic youth in increasing numbers for the dozen or so years following the Supreme Court decision (*Brown* v. *Board of Education*) in 1954. Later causes included the Vietnam war, the draft, "nonrelevance" of higher education, university involvement in weapons research, etc. A second stream, the psychedelic or hippie movement, could be said to have begun in 1963 with the founding by Harvard's Timothy Leary of the International Foundation for Internal Freedom (IFIF), promulgating the ethic, "Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out." A third tributary did not start with the young so much as with the psychotherapists—the "human potential movement," which takes 1961 as its birthdate, with the founding of the first of the "growth centers," Esalen Institute, at Big Sur, California, and also the founding of the American Association for Humanistic Psychology. The fourth component is much older, the left wing political group which was finding its new heroes in Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-Tung. As these four movements began to join forces (for some purposes, although this is not meant to imply the existence of a unified political movement), and especially as it became more common to assert that "the real revolution is not in the ghetto or on the campus, but in people's heads," the use of the "person-changing technology" became more deliberate.

Some of the elements of this change technology are listed in Table 1. Emphasis is on increased awareness in two directions, (a) of the higher-consciousness nature of man, and hence of the demeaning quality of the prevailing images of behavioral-science man and economic man, and (b) of institutionalized hyprocrisy, inequity, and inhumanity in the social system. The techniques near the top of the list tend to aim more at expended self-awareness and those near the bottom at heightened social awareness.

TABLE 1

Element of "person-changing technology"	Typical outcomes
Meditation Yoga Psychedelic drugs Hypnosis, autohypnosis Psychosynthesis Sensory awareness	Awareness of spiritual dimensions of transcendental self, of the "hypnotic" or "encapsulated" nature of ordinary life Sensitivity to feelings and emotions, beauty
Self-awareness exercises Psychotherapies Group therapy Sensitivity training Encounter groups Gestalt therapy Group nudity, marathons Psychodrama	Sensitivity to human closeness, self-honesty, realization there is nothing to hide Sponatenous response to experience, self-expression, individual autonomy, emotional freedom Removal of guilt and fear stemming from early training regarding morality and sin
Synanon games New Theater (ridicule of Establishment, crudity and nudity, audience encounter) Forceful disruption of normal social process Underground press Radicalizing confrontations	Ego-reducing experience, awareness of ego-defense nature of social institutions and customs
Deliberate provocation of "instructive encounters" such as police confrontations, black-white confrontations, etc.	Perception of oppressive nature of social institutions

Young people's concern with "awareness-expanding" and "consciousness-exploring" activities is intimately related to their reformulated value convictions. If materialism was the philosophical base for the Old Left, it appears that some form of existential transcendentalism may be coming to play that role for the New Left. The far-flung network of "rock stations," broadcasting revolutionary messages in the lyrics of their songs and in their parodies of news programs, intersperse material on religious, metaphysical, psychic, and esoteric topics. As Roszak notes in one of the most penetrating analyses of the youth revolt, (8) "If one scans any of the underground weeklies, one is apt to find their pages swarming with Christ and the prophets, Zen, Sufism, Hinduism, primitive shamanism, theosophy, the left-handed Tantra . . . At the level of our youth, we begin to resemble nothing so much as the cultic hothouse of the Hellenistic period, where every manner of mystery and fabery, ritual and rite, intermingled with marvelous indiscrimination." Notwithstanding, he notes, there is a unifying theme, "the world view of Lao-Tzu, of the Buddha, of the Zen masters . . . has become one of the strongest strains of the counter-culture . . . The counter-culture is, essentially, an exploration of the politics of consciousness."

V. A NEW SCIENCE OF CONSCIOUSNESS?

Such indications of a shift in the metaphysical premises of the public at large, or the younger part of it, might appear to be a mere

fad. More significant in a way are indications that scientists—persons with recognized scientific training who are on the staffs of research organizations and universities with high standards and who hold membership in recognized scientific associations—are manifesting more and more interest in developing a science of ordinary and extraordinary subjective experience. The study of "altered states of consciousness" is not completely new, of course. The phenomena of hypnosis have been studied in a scientific way, off and on, for at least a century and a half. Phenomenology has been a sporadic influence in psychology. Freud's psychoanalysis and its offshoots have attempted to probe the unconscious processes. But the present thrust is toward a more basic shift in implicit premises and root metaphors.

A list of pioneering works in the systematic exploration of consciousness would include William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, Richard Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness*, Pitirim Sorokins' *The Ways and Power of Love*, and the writings of numerous Vedanta, Sufi, and Zen scholars. Among modern psychotherapists whose works fit into this same category are C. G. Jung, Roberto Assagioli, and Hubert Benoit. Several new scientific journals serve the field in particular the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* and the *Journal for the Study of Consciousness.*

Research activity is currently significant in at least three approaches to altered states of consciousness: Feedback of EEG signals, psychedelic chemicals, and classical (by which we mean sensory deprivation, yoga, autohypnosis, hypnosis, meditation, etc.). It should be noted that there are two recent and significant advances in this area. One is increased access to and voluntary control of diverse states of consciousness, making them more available for exploration. The other is the appearance of physiological correlates to altered states (EEG, EMG, GSR, REM, etc.). This latter is of extreme importance in a philosophy-of-science sense. The scientist of subjective experience is now much more in the position of the physicist studying an electron, or the astronomer studying a galaxy, in that he can say, "Here is a phenomenon (dream, satori state, etc.) which defies strict definition, but which I can study through various correlates (alpha waves, rapid-eye-movement, verbal report, observable behavior, etc.)." In effect, it means that the barrier between objective, "public" data and subjective, "private" data is gone for good and the legitimated boundaries for scientific scrutiny are thus extended.

The science of consciousness is in its infancy. Even so, some of its foreshadowings are evident. With the re-classification of man's subjective experience into the realm of empirical inquiry, we can anticipate an acceleration of research in this area. Consequently, there is new hope of consensus on issues—especially value issues—which have been at the root of conflict for centuries (just as earlier there came about consensus on the place of the earth in the universe, and on the origin of man). The new science bids fair to incorporate the most penetrating insights of psychology, the humanities, and religion. These developments will have profound impacts on goal priorities in society, on our concepts of education, on the further development and use of tech-

nology, and perhaps (as in the case of the Copernican revolution) on the distribution of power among social institutions and interest groups.

The real significance of a science of subjective experience and "altered states of consciousness" is that it is in this area that our individual and social values are experientially and historically rooted. The development of such a science would redress what in retrospect is a puzzling discrepancy between the audacity with which man has pursued the physical, biological, and social sciences, and the timidity with which he has contemplated the possibility of developing a moral science. Already in the field of clinical psychology several scientists are proposing to formulate through their researches "a natural value system, a court of ultimate appeal for the determination of good and bad, of right and wrong" (A. H. Maslow), with "universal human value directions emerging from the experiencing of the human organism" (Carl Rogers). What may be in the offing is new means of obtaining consensus on value questions, by submitting them to the test of what is ultimately wholesome for the whole man.

The nature of the emerging premises

Thus, we have argued, there appear to be in the present situation (a) a *need* for drastic change in the pathogenic premises which have generated the world macroproblem, (b) an emerging *force* for change in the Great Refusal of youth, and (c) an emerging *supportive metaphysic* coming jointly from the nascent science of consciousness and from the collective inner explorations of millions of more informal investigators, particularly among the youth. What is this new metaphysic or, if you will, new religion? It would seem premature to attempt to describe the end state of a conceptual revolution which, if it is taking place, is certainly only in its beginning stages. Yet the signs seem clear enough to warrant a prediction.

Aldous Huxley (9) was one of the first modern writers to suggest that an age-old set of basic assumptions about the nature of man was showing new strength. We shall borrow his term, "The Perennial Philosophy":

> ***Philosophia Perennis***—**the phrase was coined by Leibniz; but the thing—the metaphysic that recognizes a divine Reality substantial to the world of things and lives and minds; the psychology that finds in the soul something similar to or even identical with, divine Reality; the ethic that places man's final end in the knowledge of the imminent and transcendent Ground of all being—the thing is immemorial and universal. Rudiments of the Perennial Philosophy may be found among the traditionary lore of primitive peoples in every region of the world, and in its fully developed forms it has a place in every one of the higher religions. A version of this Highest Common Factor in all preceding and subsequent theologies was first committed to writing more than twenty-five centuries ago, and since that time the inexhaustible theme has been treated again and again, from the standpoint of every religious tradition and in all the principal languages of Asia and Europe.**

The basic proposition of the "Perennial Philosophy" is an experimental one, that man can under certain conditions attain to a higher awareness, a "cosmic consciousness," in which state he has immediate knowledge of a reality underlying the phenomenal world, in speaking of which it seems appropriate to use such words as infinite and eternal, Divine Ground, Brahaman, Godhead, or Clear Light of the Void. From this vantage point, one's own growth and creativity, and

his participation in the evolutionary process, are seen to be under the ultimate direction of a higher center (Atman, the Self of Vedantic writings, the Oversoul). Ordinary perceptions of one's life and of one's environment are likened to the perceptions of a hypnotic trance. Such phenomena as extrasensory perception, precognition of future events, levitation and other psychokinetic events, "instant" diagnosis and healing, etc., are only extraordinary, not *a priori* impossible.

The basic assumptions of positivistic science stand in relationship to the Perennial Philosophy much as Newtonian mechanics relates to relatavistic physics: They are in no way invalidated for those aspects of human experience to which they are appropriate, but comprise a special case, a limited form of the more general theory. Similarly, the philosophies of materialism and idealism are to each other as the wave and particle theories of light and matter; each fits the world as seen with a particular mode of observation, and a complementary relationship holds between them.

Of course the Perennial Philosophy is not new to Western culture. It is present in the Rosicrucian and Freemasonry traditions. Its symbolism in the Great Seal of the United States, on the back of the one-dollar bill, is testimony to the role it played in the formation of this country. It also appears in the Transcendentalism of Emerson, the Creative Evolution of Bergson, and the extensive writings of William James.

Whether one ascribes its recent popularity to increased intellectual openness and tolerance or to anxiety brought on by the nuclear threat, indications abound that increasing numbers of persons are taking its premises seriously. Rising book sales in metaphysics, transcendental philosophy, Eastern religious philosophies, and parapsychology indicate growing interest in these related areas. Metaphysically-oriented churches, societies, and study groups are much in evidence.

Part of society's thus far negative reaction to monistic and Eastern kinds of beliefs as they have appeared in the hippies' culture, the drug scene, and numerous cults has been due to the fear that they would lead to quietism and withdrawal and, therefore, would undermine the social structure. Although it is true that these beliefs have been associated with the Eastern world, there is in fact nothing in the Perennial Philosophy which is contrary to virile and active participation in economic and political affairs. Neither are these premises in any way contrary to a high-technology society; they only say something about the ends to which that technology would be put.

Should these forces prevail and some sort of transcendentalist premises come to dominate the culture, the consequence would be a social and historical phenomenon of magnitude comparable with the Protestant Reformation. It might well be accompanied by as pervasive and varied changes in the whole socio-cultural system—organizational forms, roles, norms, traditions, power concentrations, and social processes—as accompanied the rise of the Protestant ethic.

An urgent educational task

If the foregoing analysis is sound and the challenge of the times is as represented, then it would appear that responding to this challenge is an educational task of the highest priority. In saying this we are

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If the foregoing analysis is sound and the challenge of the times is as represented, then it would appear that responding to this challenge is an educational task of the highest priority. In saying this we are

not referring solely to the schools. To be sure, it is all of us who need to educate ourselves:

(1) To emotional as well as intellectual awareness of the ineluctable fact that we are one race, on one planet, and that only we can take responsibility for the fate of both;

(2) To the shift in basic premises and operative values necessary for a tolerable future, and to the evidence that such a shift is also congruous with the essential nature of human beings; and

(3) To the realization that, even if such a transition is made, the strains on the social structure in the decades just ahead will be of such magnitude that a strong binding force will be required to hold it together—a task which must be shared jointly by the agents of education and the agents of order and law.

The agents of education are, we must remind ourselves, the schools, the churches, advertising, propaganda, television (broadcast, pay, and cable), social change efforts, psychotherapists—all of those activities which are carried on with the deliberate purpose of effecting some change in the individuals involved. The part of this total education which goes on in the formal educational system may be a decreasing fraction in the seventies. Educational policy which is to be responsive to the needs must be based in this total picture.

However, even if educational policy concerns itself with all these *deliberate* attempts at education and change, its ability to bring about changes in perspective and values may be quite limited. Even more to the point than deliberate change may be fostering creative change where it appears spontaneously. A particular case in point is the "Great Refusal" of youth, previously referred to. Perhaps the most serious threat of the near-term future is the possibility that we will fail to discriminate accurately between creative and destructive components of social change forces in the contemporary situation and, through fear, may move to repress the whole, thus taking dangerous steps in the direction of a police state.

In this brief paper we have attempted to suggest that the most crucial issues bearing on educational policy choices are not necessarily the most obvious ones. If the wrong issues are addressed, the policy which emerges will inevitably be faulty. The most important issue in this nation may well not be one involving radicals versus conservatives, or youth versus middle age, or haves versus havenots, but rather one between those who assume that the future can be more or less like the present, versus those who are convinced that the pathogenic premises and values in the culture are going to have to be replaced by more constructive and humane ones.

The macroproblem which the world faces, and which is rapidly and ineluctably becoming more serious, is at root a problem of value and basic premises—in short, a moral problem. Thus the kind of leadership required is moral leadership. The United States could reassert its role in this domain, but only if we first eliminate our own confusion. It would seem to follow that the paramount educational task for the nation is the fostering of a unifying national purpose, the developing of a will to build toward a nation "with liberty and justice for all" and to take the lead in "the stewardship of the future".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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